

*"I do not want to change the rules of the game.  
I want to change the game itself."*

# Anti-Fascist Resistance In France

**Solidarity With Imprisoned French Anti-Fascists  
Documents From the Francs Tireurs Partisans**





# Anti-Fascist Resistance In France

## Franc-Tireurs Partisans (Partisan Snipers)

Drawing their inspiration from the French Resistance during World War II, between 1991 and 1998 individuals in the south of France carried out a series of attacks against the racist National Front. The attacks, generally carried out with explosives or molotov cocktails, targeted property, not people, even when the fascists were openly defending their right to murder "foreigners" who got in their way. On October 13, 1999 two individuals, William and Yves, were arrested by the police, who had been keeping them under watch for a full year. Yves has claimed that he alone carried out the FTP's eleven actions.

In the spirit of anti-fascist solidarity we have translated two texts written by the Partisan Snipers' prior to the arrests. We will attempt to translate and make available through AFIB news of all further developments in this case.

More information will follow in the weeks and months that come. For the time being, the main web site in solidarity with the FTP is at: <http://altern.org/solidariteftp>. Solidarité FTP can be contacted at [solidariteftp@altern.org](mailto:solidariteftp@altern.org)

A "Committee for the Liberation of William and Yves" has been set up in Marseilles, and is distributing a petition on the internet calling for the freedom of these comrades. People should be aware that the names on this petition will be made public, as it is to be published in the newspaper in Marseilles. The petition is available at the Solidarité FTP website, or by writing to : Théâtre Toursky, passage Léo Ferré, 13003 Marseille

Those who can donate money to help this campaign can deposit it directly into this bank account: C.C.P. PARIS 198 393 1C

- Eric Cartman for AFF, December 1999

This pamphlet is a joint publication between Arm The Spirit, Anti-Fascist Forum and Antifa Info-Bulletin. Despite the small size of the pamphlet we are selling it for \$1 with all money to go William and Yves's defense fund.

## Solidarity Is A Weapon!

**Arm The Spirit - Anti-Fascist Forum - Antifa Info-Bulletin**  
**February 2000**



# Francs-Tireurs Partisans (Partisan Snipers)

## Introduction from No Pasaran!

The Partisan Snipers, who were arrested in Marseilles in mid-October, had given their analysis and explained their actions in two texts. So that everyone can make up their own mind on this matter, we are publishing the second of these texts, which was written in late 1998. Today the extreme right seems to be falling to bits and no longer makes the headlines (though judging from the polls, this present weakness does not mean that it is disappearing). So it is understandable to question the value of this kind of action, especially if one forgets what the nineties were like in the Provence Alps-Côte d'Azur (PACA) region. The last action was carried out in October 1998, which may be a sign that the FTP had taken into account the changes in the political landscape. A police officer told the Libération newspaper that the State had been on to them for over a year... if they had not been arrested soon it may have been too late...

Megret's fascists (Bruno Megret, who led the split from Le Pen in the National Front in late 1998 - translator), who had shamelessly defended Ibrahim Ali's murderers, must have been overjoyed at the arrest of these terrorists.

Anti-fascists, regardless of what we may or may not think about the FTP's actions, should know how to respond to the fascist slander and should defend those who are now paying with their very freedom for their commitment to rid the world of the brown plague!



***Friend, Can You Hear Me... (ami entends-tu)***

# **February 1996 Communique: Franc-Tireurs Partisans (Partisan Snipers)**

In her 1987 book "Au Front", Anne Tristan quotes the following observations of a National Front activist from North Marseilles: "Look at what happens if you kill an Arab: when Le Pen has 0.5% of the vote you are in for it, everyone calls you a racist. At just 15% of the vote you can already see how people yell less. So we must continue, and you will see that at 30% people won't yell at all." The murders in Marseilles, Paris, and Le Havre, and the recent results of the presidential and municipal elections, have all confirmed this analysis.

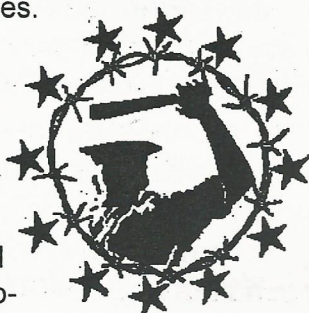
The different responses that have been mounted to the NF and its programme of Moral Order, Nationalism, Racism (and so on....), have quickly showed their limits. And that is when they have not simply been recuperated by the State itself, as in the case with SOS Racism's political maneuvers. They are a part of the Democratic/Spectacular framework; today anti-racist organizations are at the point of asking the State to pass a law to "ban the NF".

Acknowledging this impasse, we have organized to fight back in the framework of armed resistance.

First of all, we want to be crystal clear: this text is not an attempt to turn our means of struggle into an example to follow. We are also engaged in other battles: the fight for housing, against the Pasqua laws, etc. So our acts are not the only real or total forms of opposition. Their worth is determined by their contents and results, they are born of current events and circumstances.

Some have been claimed, others not.

We know why people will object to our actions: they are spectacular, "terrorist", will be recuperated, and will allow the State to violate its own laws, to reinforce its power, to heighten repression. But History has shown that the State doesn't need us for an excuse to carry out its daily vio-





lence through its wretched laws.

Finally, we do not want people to look at us as an organization of specialists, with a hierarchy, spokespeople and emblems. We are finished with "Professional Revolutionaries".

This text is meant to explain our acts. It is also meant to open the lines of communication and debate with those individuals, groups, movements and publications that struggle against fascism every day. In it we mean to share our analyses, our experiences, our practices, our successes and our failures.

We are not trying to lay down the umpteenth theory explaining the fascist resurgence. Yet it is clear to us that an anti-fascism that limits its aims to making the National Front disappear would be a mistake and a failure unless it can also attack the conditions that have created the Front.

The National Front did not just appear out of the blue. Its roots can be found in the misery and disorientation produced by capitalist globalization -- under its new moniker Liberalism -- and the repeated restructuring of the productive structures.

In France this restructuring began under Giscard d'Estaing (French president from 1974-1981, head of the right-wing RPR/UDF - translator) with the end of the "Welfare State" and the introduction of liberal management practices. Employees faced job insecurity, no longer enjoying the social protections they had "won" since 1945. Then it was the labour legislation that the system touted as an example of contractual politics, which was rapidly rendered obsolete as





entire regions were sacrificed. And then, in order to avoid the risks of social explosions and to ease the passage to Ultra-Liberalism, Capitalism played its Social-Democratic card. During the Reign of Mitterand (French president from 1981-1995, head of Socialist Party - translator) we saw the Socialists exalting in the Laws of the Market, with that ideal businessman, the self-made man, that scumbag Tapie (a populist politician who liked to pose as an ardent enemy of the National Front, and who left politics following a prison term brought about by his financial misdealings - translator). Under the Socialist Party the State introduced a two-tier society, all the while crying its crocodile tears over the system's abuses (dirty money) and using a humanist discourse to console those who modernization had rejected. This further enabled the right-wing to recuperate everyone's complaints by its own national populist themes, all the more so seeing as those of the Stalinist left had failed. It didn't take Mitterand very long to realize how much could be gained by the growth of the National Front: the right would be divided and the electorate would rally to the left. It was the shift from the Strong Franc policy to that of the Strong Front!

Pierre Beregovoy admitted as much, in terms whose cynicism was surpassed by their genius: "We have every interest in boosting the National Front, for it makes the right ineligible. The stronger it becomes the more invincible we become; it is the historic opportunity for Socialists".

Cynicism and hypocrisy on one side, racism and xenophobia on the other: these mirror-image ideologies are the two jaws of the same trap.



Capitalism can no longer invoke the Communist menace which crumbled in 1989, and which was always just a variety of state capitalism. It needs a new opponent, one that is just as false: an equally capitalist protectionism which plays on people's fears and hatreds, their repressive tendencies and dreams of exclusion. It was the Maastricht vote in France that revealed how the real debate was being over-



shadowed: the solidarity of the exploited, or the cynical preservation of the Western world's privileged. This false dichotomy between Capitalism and Nationalism is preparing us for a more and more totalitarian society. The technocratic elites will dictate their laws to the rest of humanity. A large part of humanity, including those within the industrialized countries, will survive in misery, that is to say they will be excluded and kept marginalized by force of arms. The Market will leave the authoritarian management in the hands of the State.

This is why we are attacking the National Front in the first place, because it is the instrument being used to manage this crisis in the south of France. In Toulon, Marignan and Orange it is the National Front that is in charge, and in other cities it supports or subverts different government policies.

Faced with this predictable situation we have given ourselves the means to fight.

This resistance should include cultural, social and economic dimensions, but it should also be political. It should advance a political project.

There is much to be done to build an autonomous social movement that will be able to bring about a profound break with the set of Market values. We hope that with this contribution we can provoke discussion to build such a movement incorporating different people's practices.

"A certain dose of tenderness is necessary in order to walk when there is so much against you in order to awaken when you're so exhausted. A certain dose of tenderness is necessary in order to see, in this darkness, a small ray of light in order to make order from shame and obligations. A certain dose of tenderness is necessary in order to get rid of all of the sons of bitches that exist. But sometimes a certain dose of tenderness is not enough and it's necessary to add...a certain dose of bullets."

This text was borrowed from the EZLN (the Zapatista Mexican Indians from Chiapas), and we find it particularly close to how we see our struggle.

**For Internationalism**  
**Against all nationalisms' and fundamentalisms'**  
**Solidarity with those who struggle here or elsewhere**

February 1996  
The Partisans





# November 1998 Communique From The Francs Tireurs Partisans

*"I do not want to change the rules of the game.*

*I want to change the game itself." - André Breton*

Two years ago, following a series of actions, we thought we should explain what we were doing and why we were doing it (see the text from February 1996). Unfortunately, since that time our analysis of the situation has been confirmed by a series of events such as Megret taking control of the Vitrolles mayor's office. These past years have seen resistance melt, through a process of trivialization of the National Front's programme, by its presense on the streets and in the media. That which was feared ten years ago is now coming to pass, and every day the NF's strategy is being implemented more and more. Many do not want to see this and see every fascist advance as an abomination that has come out of thin air. Nevertheless the spiders web is being sewn and the actors are slowly taking their places in a drama that we have seen before.

The conditions are there for everything to be shaken up:

- \* Europe, elaborated without citizens, is being rejected. The proposed model is ultraliberal and anti-democratic, with an omnipotent central bank beyond the population's control. Its the return to a seventeenth century ideology that was already put into practice in the nineteenth century. It is like holy bread for the nationalists.

- \* The future is viewed with uncertainty and turning inward is encouraged by consumer society.

- \* There are no more collective projects, a term that capitalism has turned into an insult, a synonym of totalitarianism.

- \* The political class is saturated with careerism, in some cases with racketeering. To do your business is to be in business.

- \* Electoral abstentionism reflects this rejection, and the NF is embracing a growing section of the electorate.



There are no objective reasons why this should stop. The last regional elections showed us: the traditional right exploded. This is a very important event for the NF. It is only the beginning of recomposition around a respectable extreme right party. The exploitation of the fascist vote by the Socialists since 1983 is still going on today. Talk of changing the electoral system will not solve the problem. And yet the support won by the NF doesn't really figure in the politicians' calculations. A clear example of this was the election of the president of the Conseil Generale des Bouches du Rhone, a man with such a dubious past that he had to quit four months later. Head held high and clean hands (a slogan of the NF - translator) have sunny skies ahead. The French fascists have always needed a foreign (or allegedly foreign) scapegoat. It once was the Jews, today it is the Arabs. Everyone sees the everyday racism, all around, in one's neighbourhood, at work, in one's family.

Even if it isn't expressed the same way as before the war, it is no less present or ingrained in people's minds. So everything is in place: a society where social ties are being severed by the thrusts of liberalism; the corruption of the political "elites"; a "republican" right that has lost its reference-points and its electorate; the political game of the powers that be over the past fifteen years; and finally, a latent racism just waiting for an opportunity to express itself in the open. So the fascist danger is not static, it is growing. The camps are almost in place. Nobody can still claim that "I did not know". Those who belong to and vote for the National Front know what they are doing. Even if one uncovers all of the explanations of why they are on that path. It is a fact, clearly established.

The time to make propaganda showing how fascistic the fascists are has passed. Today they are in a dynamic of taking power nationally after a local phase.

If elections can sometimes prevent a particular fascist from attaining a particular elected position, they cannot change the causes of the FN vote. Candidates do not implement their programme - either because they don't want to or because they don't know how. Only the National Front tries to put its programme into practice locally in the municipalities and political bodies where they are active.

The French fascist party maintains a militia and armed members who do not hesitate to shoot and to kill. Laws will not make the NF disappear, it must be banned by citizens' actions. The courts respond to the symptoms, but never the causes. Historically fas-



cism has never been beaten in the voting booths. On the contrary, the fascists have often taken power thanks to elections. Active resistance is the only option we have left: in our hearts we still remember those who fought and died fifty years ago to free this country from the fascist abomination. Like them we are acting, by virtue of our roots, with a certain conception of man (sic), where the law of the jungle should not be seen as a model. The anti-fascist resistance of the Partisan Snipers is a historic reference which we hold to be a model of human dignity.

Today our first priority is to use all means to stop the advance of the National Front. The fascists should not be able to march on conquered ground. On top of the legitimate work of all democrats, of the associations, of individuals who struggle against the extreme right, we clearly affirm that we will not let them have their way. They will not come back to cynically parade on the steps of the republican institutions that they hate.

Only a social movement with clear political goals will be able to deal with the causes of the fascist tangent. These goals should be solidarity, the sharing of wealth, sustainable development for the whole planet, a break with the market economy. The final abandonment of liberalism, which turns man (sic) into a slave of the economy, where he (sic) is nothing but a tool. Human history has never solved things thanks to the market, and the market will not guarantee our future.

The Market, controlled by the big multinationals that make up the oligopolies, does not guarantee democracy. It continually breaks the solidarity between people represented by Social Security, the Public Service or the National Education, which everyone's freedom relies upon. Education, and not fascist drills or "training" for the capitalists. To be educated, to be cultivated, is to be able to completely exercise one's citizenship. The Market dislikes national education which is not "profitable". The extreme right hates popular education. It is difficult to manipulate and enslave an educated, open-minded and critical population. Similarly, culture, which is exploited by the businessmen, is reviewed and corrected by the fascists who see it as being subversive to the order they wish to impose. While some profit from and take care of the Market, others are using racism, national preference and ethnic cleansing to build the new order.

Against the extreme right, the battle of ideas is temporarily in retreat. The fascists now occupy the terrain. We can only use what we have to attack capitalism straight on. Only a progressive social



dynamic will break the isolation maintained by the liberal consensus. We are acting as citizens to rebuild the ideological and philosophical basis for the liberation of humanity across all borders. Until this emancipation begins, we are fighting fascism in the here and now. The disappearance of the NF is tied to our ability to reverse the tendency towards world liberalism.

### **For Internationalism**

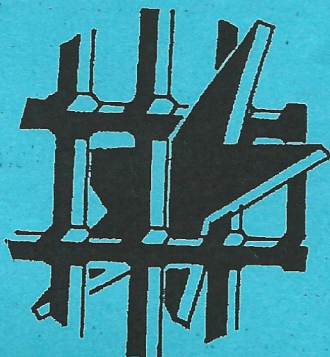
**Against all nationalisms, and fundamentalisms,  
Solidarity with those who struggle here or elsewhere**

## **Anti-Fascist Prisoners' Welfare Fund**

The Anti-Fascist Prisoners Welfare Fund has been set up as a support fund to collect donations and conduct fundraisers for imprisoned anti-fascists as well as those facing potential legal costs or fines. The welfare fund observes specific anti-fascists it chooses to benefit and, based on the criteria for each case and wages a campaign on a public or private basis. The aim is to build a financial reserve to help buffer unforeseeable court costs that organizations and individuals potentially face in the future.

To contribute to the fund, send concealed cash, money orders, or cheques payable to Prisoners Welfare Fund or simply, PWF. Please specify whether you wish your donation to be public or private.

AFPWF  
Box 90  
522 Church St.  
Toronto, Ont.  
M4Y 2E3  
CANADA





# The Partisan Snipers Take The Field

- \* July 14th 1991: molotov cocktails thrown against the National Front's Marseilles offices (not claimed)
- \* October 24th 1992: La Truffe Noire restaurant is blown up the night before a meeting of the NF youth section was to be held there (not claimed)
- \* May 1st 1994: explosives used to destroy the entrance to the Management of the Department of Work and Employment (DDTE) claimed by "Des chômeurs en pétard" in support of workers' struggles in local enterprises
- \* June 6th 1994: explosives detonated at the National Front's Marseilles office, claimed by "Autonomous Anti-fascist Action Nucleus - Marcel Korsec Fighting Unit" (Korsec was a member of the Resistance who was executed by firing squad on June 5th 1944)
- \* December 16th 1994: explosives detonated at the Italian Consulate the day that Silvio Berlusconi was in Aix en Provence to attend the Franco-Italian Summit. Claimed by the "International Brigades, Guiseppe Pinelli Section"
- \* April 3rd 1995: explosives detonated at the house of Maurice Gros, Departmental Secretary of the National Front. Claimed by the "Partisan Snipers, Albéric D'Alessandri Fighting Unit" (D'Alessandri was a member of the Resistance executed by firing squad) in response to the assassination of Ibrahim Ali by the fascists.
- \* February 24th 1996: The North Marseilles National Front offices are blown up. This is where the killers of Ibrahim Ali had left from one year earlier. Action claimed by "Missak Manouchian Partisan Snipers"
- \* February 21st 1996: The NF's offices on Lyon Street are blown up. It was from these offices that the assassins of Ibrahim Ali had left. Claimed by "Francs Tireurs Partisans, Groupe Missak Manouchian"
- \* March 11th 1997: a grenade attack against a National Front office on 22 Saint Cecile street, claimed by "Groupe de Partisans Marcel Bonain"
- \* February 21st 1998: An office on Sablier Avenue in Bonneville is destroyed by explosives. Claimed by "Francs Tireurs Partisans; Dimitri Cotorovitch Fighting Unit"
- \* June 9th 1998: The NF offices on 22 Saint Cecile Street are once again destroyed by explosives, the day before the opening of Ibrahim Ali's killers' trial. Claimed by "Francs Tireurs Partisans; Jean Robert Fighting Unit"